RICHMOND ENQUIRER. FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 16, 1852.

WHIG STATE CONVENTION.

The Convention met at eight o'clock, P. M., on Wednes

day, at the African Church. The Committee of 15 made their report, presenting the names of the following gentlemen, as permament officers of

the Convention:

FOR PRESIDENT:—John F. Strother.

VICE PRESIDENTS:—I, V Witcher; 2, J W Syme; 3, Jno VICE PRESIDENTS:—I, V Witcher; 2, J W Syme; 3, Jno Motts; 4, Alex Rives; 5, H W Sheffey; 6, J W Vawter; 17, H B Shackelford; 8, Thos L Preston; 9, J H Lacy; 10, J McCollock; 11, Hill Carter; 12, Thos Sweeney; 13, R I J Gocke; 14, W E Cunningham; 15, Alex Butler.

SECRETARIES:—Jao Scott of the Times; J W Syme of the Petersburg Intelligencer; O P Baldwin of the Republican; J W Spalding of the Whig: Tyree Maupin of the Harrisonburg.

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Mr. Strother was then conducted to the Chair and deliver ed an address.

Mr. Scott of F., offered the following resolutions: 1. Resolved, That a committee of fifteen, to be selected by the President, be appointed to recommend to this Convention the rules of order proper to be observed for the govern-

ment of its deliberations.

2. Resolved, That a committee of fifteen, be appointed to report resolutions proper to be adopted by the Convention, expressive of the leading principles of the Whig party, and defining its position relative to the measures of Federal legislation commonly known as the Compromise, and that such committee consist of one delegate from each Congressional district, to be chosen respectively by the delegations from the same

3. Resolved, That the several delegations from the said Congressional districts recommend to the Convention suita-ble persons for electors and assistant electors in their respective districts, and for assistant electors in the counties com-prising the same; and that they further recommend two de-legates and alternates from each district to represent the Vhigs of this State in the Whig National Convention. The 1st and 2d resolutions were unanimously adopted; the

3d resolution gave rise to debate, and was finally laid upon

On motion the Convention then adjourned till Thursday,

The Whig Convention continued its sessions yesterday. As was said the night before by Mr. Jackson of Wood, in the warm discussion with Mr. Turner of Fauquier as to the number of delegates to be sent to the National Convention, there are in the Whig party "Old Fogies" and "progressive Young America." This fact was developed yesterday .-Mr. Scott of Fauquier had moved a resolution for the appointment of said delegates by the Convention itself, after they shall have been reported by the various delegations .-Mr. Macfarland moved to amend so as to send that matter to the people, who, in District Conventions, shall appoint said delegates. Quite a zealous discussion arose and was continued for nearly two hours, by Messrs. Macfarland of this city, Maupin of Rockingham, Scott of Powhatan, and Patrick of Kanawha, in favor of the district system; and by Messrs. Imboden of Augusta, Scott of Fauquier, Hill Carter of Charles City, and Witcher of Pittsylvania, in favor of the appointment of the delegates by the central power in this Convention. By the speakers on the side of the districts, it was strongly contended that, under the old system of central appointment, the Whigs had always been beaten in Virginia, and that they should profit in this regard by the policy of the Democrats-that many of the counties of the State were not represented, and that, in the appointment of the Delegates by this Convention, the wishes of the people could not be carried out with any thing like the same fairness as by appointment by the people in district Conventions, the assembling of which bodies would generate enthusiasm. Mr. Maupin spoke quite plainly to the point. He is the editor of a Whig paper in Rockingham which has read our friend Semple of the Fredericksburg News, out of the Whig church, on account of his anti-Scott declarations. Mr. M. is also, we believe, the sole representative in Convention, of the great Democratic counties of Rockingham, Shenandoah and Page. He talks well, and it is said that, if contradicted every half an hour, he will talk incessantly for twenty four hours. In his speech yesterday he showed very plainly that he is very hostile to the "Old Fogies" of the Whig party, under whose central machinery Whiggery has always failed in Virginia. He gave a hard hit at the old humbug practices of his party, when he said that it was not by "grand processions" and resolutions by a central body like the present, that the people were to be operated upon-but that it must be done by hard labor, and by stirring up the people to take an interest in the matter and bringing them together to act always prevailed in Virginia, and he was for taking a lesson

The speakers in favor of Mr. Ro. E. Scott's central appointment of delegates by the Convention here, argued strennously that the good old Whig habit should not be departed from-that it would be impossible to get the people out to Journal says: District Conventions-that this Convention had clearly the power, and it was their duty to appoint said delegates-and that otherwise, the vote of Virginia in the Whig Convention might be divided, her moral force destroyed, and the voice of the majority suppressed. They principally relied upon the ad captandum argument that the district system was Democratic, and therefore should be utterly scouted out of a Whig weight with the "faithful" Whigs, who, in 1848, were "no party," and in 1851 were not Whigs, but "Union" men .-Some of the speakers on this side, Mr. R. E. Scott particularly, undertook to sneer at and ridicule the Baltimore Democratic platform, as being so constructed as to admit persons of the most discordant elements, Abolitionists and Southern Democrats, &c., &c., standing on the same planks. Mr. S. forgot to remind his hearers that in 1848 the Whigs had no platform, and that thereby the Abolitionists had full sway .-He should also have stated that, in the next National Whig have the majority, and that the Southern Whigs will only be allowed the privilege of echoing the commands of their Se

from them in this respect.

At 2, P. M., we left the Convention, just as it con menced the tedious process of scaling the vote by counties, &c., (according to their votes in the House of Delegates,) upon Mr. Macfarland's proposition-which, we have no doubt, was lost, and the old mode of appointing the delegates, by the central body here, re-adopted. The district system is the only fair and proper mode of ascertaining the popular will, and, as Mr. Macfarland said, it assimilates it? self to the workings of our whole system of governmentbut, true to their notions of centralization, afraid of the action of the people, and, above all, utterly hostile to any thing that is Democratic, the "Old Fogies" of the Whig party carried the day. There was, also, one fact developed in the debate, which had some influence in the vote. It was evident that the motion for District Conventions was a Scott movement-the friends of this "Military Chieftain," who seemed to muster more strongly than we had suspected were well aware that the Convention were, by a large majority, in favor of Mr. Fillmore, and that the delegates which it should appoint, would cast the whole vote of Virginia for Fillmore. They, doubtless, base their only hope of getting any votes from Virginia in favor of Gen. Scott, on the ac tion of the people in District Conventions. Indeed, one of the speakers said, that the only practical question before the Convention was, whether the delegates to the Whig National Convention should be instructed to go for Fillmore and no body else, or whether they should go untrammeled by Instructions.

This Whig Convention, it will be seen, has been far from as "harmonious," as the Whig carpers at the Democratic Convention would have desired. The body was yesterday at sixes and sevens, upon the appointment of delegatesand from the remark yesterday, by the spokesman of the Caroline district delegation, that they could not get suitable persons to accept the posts of delegates or electors, until they knew what resolutions and platform this Convention would adopt, we infer that, when the test comes up on the resolutions, there will be something like a storm.

It is one of the tamest bodies of the kind, that we have ever seen. They look as if they were conscious of the mere farce that they are playing out. They have none of that enthusiasm engendered by devotion to principles, which marked the proceedings of the Democratic Convention and in praise of it, while a large portion of the Southern Democratic which called forth the quaint and good humored remark of our eloquent friend Tim Rives of Prince George, in explaining the discussion with Mr. Wise, that its members were so brimful of fight that, not finding the enemy before them. they had to pitch into their own friends.

P. S. The Convention, by a vote of 21 to 80, (according to the ratio of representation in the House of Delegates,) voted down Mr. Macfarland's resolution for District Conventions. The delegates to the Whig National Convention will thus be appointed by a body, in which only two-thirds of the counties, according to the ratie of their representation in the House of Delegates, are represented!

surprised if they do not substantially win the victory, when the Convention shall have adjourned.

The Richmond Republican is the only Whig paper in the city, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Conven tion of its duty, in regard to the position of Gen. Scott. In

its vesterday's issue, it says: more is not available in New York, bear in mind the WHY! adopt.

When told that Gen. Scott is available, ask WHY? If it be because he has not defined his position upon the Compro-mise, then what is a Whig victory thus gained, but a South-ern defeat? We do not deny that Gen. Scott is in favor of the Compromise. We have never heard from himself what But before he can be acknowledged by the whole Whig Church as sound in the faith, he must come out in presence of the whole congregation, and make a profession of his creed. We do not consuce him because Seward is his devoted friend. The majestic oak is not to blame that the parasite embraces its lordly trunk. But it withers not discuss all the same from the deadly misfortune. blame that the parasite embraces its lordly trunk. But it withers at d dies, all the same, from the deadly misfortune. Seward kills every thing that he touches. The world-wide fame of Kossuth kindled a thousand glorious reflections in every Southern valley and hillside, till Seward's friendship passed like a sickly eclipse between the Sun of Hungary and the Southern eve.

and the Southern eye.

Once more we invoke the whigs of Virginia to stand by Millard Fillmore as he has stood by the Constitution and the laws. Turn a deaf year to the nonsense that he is not available in New York. Do not believe that the great mass f the whigs of the Empire State are traitors to the Constiution and practical nullifiers of the laws. If they are, it is ime that you should dissolve your alliance with them. hey are not, you can not only nominate, but elect Millard

YANKEE ENTERPRISE. We observe that Chagres is being deserted very fast, and ill the thail steamers now land at Aspinwall, a busy and thriving place established by American energy. Passenger trains now run on the Panama Rail Road regularly as far as Buena Vista, to which point it was opened on the 2d inst., and Col. George M. Totten, the Chief Engineer, expects to and Col. George M. Totten, the Chief Engineer, expects to the country by giving you are trained to the country by giving you. have the road open to Friola on the 18th instant, leaving Pennsylvania. only 12 miles of river navigation. The regular trains leave Aspinwall at 6, A. M., daily. Mail trains are run on the arrival of the mail ships, and passengers leaving Aspinwall in the morning, arrive at Gorgona the same day. Fare in the cars \$5, from the end of rail road to Gorgona; in boats, from \$1 50 to \$3; while, by the old river route, from two to four days were consumed, at an expense of \$10 to \$15. The road s in excellent order, and the cars are equal in comfort to any on our Northern roads. The Eldorado was the first ship to discharge her passengers and cargo directly from the ship to the wharf. She laid at the wharf while there, and received the wharf. She laid at the wharf while there, and received the allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a man who has had the meritide allegations made against a merit the treasure and passengers on board in the same way, with as much ease and security as could be done at the wharf in New York; thus avoiding the danger and inconvenience attending the landing in small boats at Chagres.

We have had a pleasant interview with the Rev. Mr. Charles Spear of Boston, Editor of the "Prisoner's Friend," pious, virtuous and philanthropic gentleman, who merits the respect and courtesy of all. He has devoted much of his time, and intellectual faculties, to the duty of ameliorating the severity of prison discipline. We trust that he will deiver a discourse and take as his text his mission to England, on which he was sent by the citizens of Boston-and that he will inform us of his interview with Sir George Grey, the British Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, with Lord Ashley, and with Elizabeth Fry's Family -and will give his views of the English Pulpit, the British Press, the Ragged Schools and the Prisons of England and France. It was to Mr. Spear that Mr. Lawrence, our Minister in England, addressed the enquiries of the British Parliament for facts in relation to the Criminal Laws of the U. States.

In other States Mr. Spear has delivered his lectures in the State Capitols. We trust that by the same courtesy the use of the Hall of Delegates will be tendered to him-and that he will give his views upon the subject of public executions, which is now before the legislature for practical action. As best showing the character of the man, we call attention to the following letter from Edward Everett to Mr. Abbot Lawrence in England:

BALTIMORE, JUNE 20, 1851. DEAR SIR: The Rev. Charles Spear, being about to repair to London, has requested of me the favor of an introduction to you. He is no doubt known to you by reputation, if not personally, for his efforts in behalf of prisoners. Your inquiries relative to Capital Punishment in the United States were placed in his hands by Governor Boutwell, and the chief object of his visit to England is to convey the information desired upon this subject, and to acquaint himself with the statistics of crime and punishment abroad. He would feel himself much indebted to you for any facilities ful guardian of the true interests of the people, the open and the criminal state of the people, the open and the criminal state of the people, the open and the criminal state of the people, the open and the criminal state of the people, the open and the criminal state of the people, the open and the criminal state of the people, the open and the criminal state of the people, the open and the criminal state of the crim you may procure for him in the way of access to the prisons and penitentiaries in England, and to those persons most likely to be able and willing to aid his inquiries.

I think I ought to say that I do not concur with Mr. Spear in the opinion that Capital Punishment ought never to be inflicted. This is an extreme, as it seems to me, scarcely less dangerous than the revolting frequency with which it was resorted to in the last century. Though differing with Mr. Spear on this point, I believe him to be a conscientious man, sincerely devoted to a meritorious cause.

I remain, dear sir, with much regard, faithfully your EDWARD EVERETT

Mr. Spear is at the Exchange Hotel.

Dr. D. D. Smith, formerly a popular Universalist Minister in this city, will at the Exchange to-night delivture on Music, with illustrations by members of his family. We hear from those who ought to know, that a most interesting entertainment may be expected.

DEATH FROM CHLOROFORM .- Mrs. Emily Norton wife of H. Z. Norton, of Norwalk, Conn., died at New Haven for themselves. The Democracy had, under their system, on Friday from chloroform, taken to aid the extraction of teeth. It appears she was afflicted with a disease of the jaw, ours. requiring the extraction of several diseased teeth. She had last year taken chloroform with happy effect, and on this oc casion, intending to have a tooth drawn, insisted on Dr Park, her medical attendant, again administering it. The

She was allowed to inhale the chloroform in very small quantity, for several minutes; and almost while she was saying she felt no effect from it, and was asking for its more free administration, the doctor noticed the pulse suddenly to fall Within 3 or 4 minutes from the time this change was noticed, Convention. This powerful view seemed to have great a drachm of chloroform, which was inhaled from a sponge,

To the Editors of the Enquirer.

Yesterday's proceedings in the House of Representatives deserve animadversion. The movement in the Senate, during the first few weeks of the session, to revive the discussion of the Compromise measures, had disgusted every body, except those of a small clique. Agitating a "settled question" of a most exciting character, is an incendiary proceeding. To see men claiming credit, and seeking the high places in government, for their instrumentality in "adjust-ing" it, then stepping forward upon the floors of our State Convention, the Seward Free Soil Whigs of the North will and National Legislatures, and upon the hustings, as the only agitators, outrages the moral sense of the community.

Why is this agitation renewed? The Compromise meas ures are laws of the land. There is now no division among ures are laws of the land. There is no account of the land. Southern men, Whigs or Democrats, in respect to any account is account to them. They are beyond our reach. The ion in regard to them. They are beyond our reach. Fugitive Slave law is falsely represented as one of the series. But let it be so considered; there is no division among Southern then in regard to it. It is the only measure of the series that is practically repealable. No Southern man desires to repeal it. Why this renewed agitation, then? sires to repeal it.

The real truth, Messrs. Editors, is, that certain Sci Democrats who supported and have since detended the Com-promise, desire to have their course endorsed; and to weak-en the position of other Democrats who opposed those meawho still think and feel that the South was outrageously cheated by them, and who scorn to endorse the acts

by which the wrong was inflicted.
In the name of wonder!—in the name of simple justice—is it not enough for Compromise Democrats to know that their measures are laws, against which no Southern man now wars? Is the humble privilege of being silent, under a sense of wrong and outrage, to be denied to the anti-Com-promise Democrats of the South? Let Compromise agitators be assured, that in seeking self-exaltation by their agitation and Compromise test-oaths, they but aid the Whigs of the South. Put them in the ascendant, and the Comproconstitutional Union party," par excellence. The result was a Whig victory in his State. And when Mr. Downs' election came on in the Legislature, it was in vain that his friends calculated upon no-partyism or "constitutional-union" partyism. They were coolly answered, "We have reat respect for Mr. Downs; we know him to be a good Union man; but we have men of our own, Whigs, who Union man; but we have men of our own, Whigs, who are as good Union men as HE. The Union loving Whigs voted In 1850, twenty-nine years afterwards, Virginia imported almost unanimously against him, while the friends of the \$426,599; New York \$111,123,524. Virginia exported almost unanimously against him, while the friends of the great Soule, though slandered as disunionists, and by Downs' friends also misrepresented, voted as Democrats, and for Downs. This support of Mr. Downs is better than can be reasonably expected hereafter, by those Democrats who seek high places by making a test, that Democrats shall

But to return to the proceedings of the House yesterday The pending resolution was offered by Col. Jackson of Georgia, a Southern Rights Democrat—under whose insti-gation, "this deponent saith not." It was cautiously worded, studiously avoiding offensive expressions, but abounding sought to be thrust down the throats of anti-Compromis Democrats, without even the form of legislation, and with no other practical result than a mere partisan influence in the Presidential canvass. In favor of which party that influence will operate, let one undeniable fact answer. That fact is, that the Whigs of the South, having sunk all their old party capital, are seeking a triumph by making capital out of the Compromise. They are united in singing hosannahs racy abominate it, and indignantly refuse to praise, endorse,

or recognize it as a practical test. Well, the resolution of Col. Jackson of Georgia, a South ern-rights, anti-Compromise Democrat, has passed, with an ern-rights, anti-Compromise Democrat, has passed, with an appendix by Judge Hillyer, a constitutional Union man. On the final vote, only four of the Virginia delegation voted against it—to wit: Messrs. Millson, Holladay, Powell and Averett. But let there be no misunderstanding. The fact the close of the revolutionary struggle, is, that a majority of the delegation were opposed to the inroduction of the resolution, and voted to nail it to the table. Being beaten, however, by a UNITED SOUTHERN WHIO VOTE, Being beaten, however, by a UNITED SOUTHERN WHIG VOIE, aided by Compromise Democrats—failing in several motions to lay upon the table, and being brought to a direct vote on the resolution and appendix, all but the four gentlemen just named, felt constrained to vote for the resolution. Well 1 The Convention adjourned to meet again at S. P. M. last night, when some "rich" scenes were expected. The Scott men, though vexed at the result of the above vote, seemed prepared to continue the fight, and we should be very much surprised if they do not substantially win the victory when people—members of Congress dare not vote against it, lest they be charged with denying the truth of history; and fixing a stigma upon our country and government, in this "age

VIRGINIA CENTRAL RAIL ROAD COMPANY. We have been furnished by the Treasurer with the folowing statement of the receipts of the Virginia Central Rail Road Company, for transportation for the first six months of the present fiscal year, commencing the 1st Oc-

tober, 1851, viz: Receipts for passenger fare from 1st Oct. 1851 to 1st April, 1852. Receipts for transportation of freight, 47,535 12 Receipts for transportation of mail,

Receipts for transportation for the corresponding period of the previous year, viz:

Receipts for passenger fare,

Receipts for transportation of freight, 30,448 65 teceipts for mail transportation,

Increase of receipts for the first six months of the present year, over the corresponding period of 319,155 4 the previous year,

For the Enquirer. MR. BUCHANAN IN HIS OWN STATE Mr. Editor: Will you oblige me, a Pennsylvanian, by co pying the following article into your paper, from the Tusca rora Register and Juniata Inquirer, a teading Democratic paper in Pennsylvania, conducted by Samuel E. Hench,

HON. JAMES BUCHANAN. We would reter our friends here, who differ with us on this oint, and also our friends in our sister States, who do not iffer with us, to the fact that James Buchanan, through a differ with us, to the fact that James Buchalan, thought a long life of devoted political service and sacrifice for the Democratic party in Pennsylvania, never was defeated. Such a thing cannot be found upon the political records of Pennsylvania, nor will it ever be found there. Can any personal per son for a moment believe, that the man who has been a son for a moment occave, that the man has been son for a moment occave, that the man has been times heretofore, the cherished son, pride and choice of the "Old Keystone" State, would now in the present crisis, be deserted by her sterling Democracy? Can our brethren, either at home or in our sister States, lend an ear to such either at home or in our sister States, lend an ear to such to run for office in one of the most radical Whig districts in the State, having a clear Whig majority of upwards of 4000 Whig roles, and yet to be elected in spite of all the combin-To say now, that such a man could not carry his own State against a Whig nominee for the Presidency against a wing nomine of the residency; to allege that a man who had by his distinguished merit and acknowledged ability, combined with his purity of character and political principle, always carried a strong Whig district without a the only periodical of the kind in the world—who comes single defea!, could not, if nominated, carry the popular vote highly commended to us, through the best channels, as a of his own native Democratic State! why it is absurd in the extreme. We say that Mr. Buchanan, if nominated, can, and will carry the popular vote of Pennsylvania by a larger majority than was ever east for any other Democratic can-didate since the second election of ex-Governor Porter. And if our Democratic friends who have opposed Mr. Buchanan's nomination will turn in when he is nominated by the National Convention, and use but one-half of the Herculean exertions to elect him, which they have used to defeat his nomination, he can and will carry this State by an old fashioned "Jackson majority" of 50,600. It is less than useless o talk of Mr. Buchanan losing the popular vote of this State. The recent test vote in electing Delegates in Lancaster city and county, shows conclusively, that he has lost nothing in the estimation of his friends and fellow citizens at home who know him best; who have always known and appreciated his merit and eminent services, and who and appreciated his merit and eminent services, and who will again, when an opportunity is presented, renew their former steadfast devotion by giving him the majority in that city and county, as they have heretofore invariably done when his name was before them, for high offices in their gift. Again, as we remarked, it is now evident that Gen. Scott will be the Whig nominee for the next Presidence Pennsylvania will be the political battle ground upon which the issue upon the Compromise measures, will again be con-tested. Our arch enemy, like the Phoenix of old, will again attempt to rise from the ashes of his recent defeat, and as-sume a purified garb. If we lose Pennsylvania, we lose the Presidency. It was the case in our two recent de-feats. It will be so again. And we now boldly assert, and in doing so we believe that we state the truth, that in our opinion James Buchanan is the only man now before the people for the Presidency, who can carry defeat into the Whig ranks, as marshaled under Gen. Scott, in the State of Pennsylvania. We respectfully, and at the same time, cor-dially solicit the careful consideration of this important matter to our Democratic friends in our sister States. East and West. We place him before them as the man for the crisis, the bold and fearless champion of the Constitution, and State Rights, as reserved the recent in the open and around friend of the Compromise Measures, the economical financier of the National expenditures, the friend and bosom mpanion of Andrew Jackson, the star and strength of the splendid Administration of the late lamented President Polk, the faithful adherent of the Jeffersonian resolutions of 1795 and '99 and the terror of abolitionism and all political fanaticism. We ask of them a careful persual of his recent "Rich

good" and "Baltimore" letters, and then say to his oppo nents whether or not, his Democracy is unquestionable.

As to the result of the campaign in this State, should he and Scott be the nominees of their respective parties, there is but one opinion among those who wish to speak candid-The Democracy and friends of the Union in this state will rally around the standard of Mr. Buchanan, with an enthusiasm unprecedented. He is their choice, their pride and their time-tried, political leader. They will not suffer his claims at this time to be overlooke his nomination. Many of our sister States, cordially acknowledge our claims. If he is defeated of the nomination at Baltimore, it will cast an incubus upon the political hopes Pennsylvania the influence of which will be felt in the approaching contest. Give us our acknowledged right and our sterling Democracy will drive back the myrmidons of Abolitionism and Whiggery, with such another signal rebuke as will forever silence their alarm guns. Our motto is Buchanan and the Compromise measures, and the victory is

> For the Enquirer. TAXATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

No. I. The taxation of the Federal government has generally been by a duty on imports from foreign governments. The Constitution authorizes Congress "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." From the beginning of the govern all signs of life were gone, and the most vigorous efforts to ment, the injunction of uniformity in the duties, imposts and resuscitate the woman proved unavailing. An inquest was held over her remains, and on the testimony of several physicians, Dr. Park was exculpated from all blame. Only half a drachm of chloroform, which was inhaled from a month. under the Constitution. On the contrary, every law which was ever passed by Congress for the purpose of raising revenue, has been partial, unequal or unjust to some portions of the people, or to some sections of the confederacy, for the avowed and undisguised purpose of favoring or fostering other portions or sections, by taxing the consumption of some classes to increase the production of others, and de-claring that to be a measure of national policy. Thus, while some articles of consumption have been imported free from taxation, others have been charged at various rates, but uniform upon the respective articles, according to the designs of Congress in burdening importers and consumers, for the purpose of giving a preference in our own markets to the home production of like articles. The act of the 10th of August, 1790, approved by Washington, gives the whole design of the government from its commencement. It dedesign of the government from its commencement. It de-the committee by the Rantoul faction that now is; or, in clares that "whereas, by an act entitled an act for laying a other words, by a factious portion of the Democratic party duty on goods, wares and merchandize imported into the United States, 1739 divers duties were laid on goods, wares lead of Marcus Morton—a faction which never had and merchandize so imported, for the discharge of the debts of the United States and the encouragement and protection of manufactures: And whereas, the support of government by the true Democracy of New England, (such for instance and the discharge of the said debts render it necessary to increase the said duties." The act then provides a long list Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island-Maine will follow,) as no better than Seward abolitionists, with whom list of exemptions from duty; then an additional duty of ten per centumion all goods imported in foreign bottoms; then drawbacks on foreign goods re-exported; and then a bounty on dried and pickled fish exported. Thus, under a neces-sary and proper measure for paying the public debt of the United States, was established a system of discriminating duties, as the act declares, for the "encouragement and protection of manufactures." The duties were low at that time in comparison with those now in force; and although the sectional bearing was manifest, then, as now, yet the great objects of paying the debts of the nation, and founding a system of manufactures calculated to render us more inde pendent in times of war, than we had been in the revoluof the South. Put them in the ascendant, and the Compro-nise Democrats of the South may read their fate, in the fate of Mr. Downs of Louisiana. He unfortunately was in-duced to give countenance to the no-party uses and the of Mr. Downs of Lonisiana. He unfortunately was in-duced to give countenance to the no-party men and "the constitutional Union party," par excellence. The result was

York 8907,200. But in 1791, the first year under the provi-sions of the act of Congress just referred to, the Imports into Virginia only amounted to \$2,486,000, while in N. York they had run up to \$3,022,000. Thirty years afterwards, in 1821, Virginia imported \$1,078,490, and N. York \$23,629,246. Virginia exported \$3,077,210, and New York \$13,162,547 .-\$3,415,446; New York \$52,712,789. In addition, New York city, in 1850, made \$105,218,803 worth of manufactures thus proving that a place without any water power, coal mineral, or other raw material, by virtue of her large impor-tations, had become one of the largest, if not the very largest manufacturing town in ithe United States. Thus manufactures are carried on at the most expensive place, as to raw materials and motive power, in competition with imports at the lowest rates, and simply because merchants will go to that point to purchase, regardless of their own State or her

interests. If we look back we shall find that Virginia, before the Revolution, was the largest agricultural and commercial colony of British America. But the obstruction to the commerce of Pennsylvania, ten years before the war, in conse-(which continued in force four and a half years.) gave occasion to commence manufactures in that State, at that early period; and, once commenced, Dr. Franklin and others employed their best talents to encourage them, as a means of independence, wealth and comfort. Consequently, when the war broke out, Philadelphia was ready to profit by her infant manufacturing establishments, and the internal trade of Virginia was at once attracted to that city. The towns farther North, followed the example of Philadelphia in manpolicy adopted, (under the act of Congress referred to,) she was still less inclined to change, because all the States north of her, had the start in manufacturing—and Philadelphia had already become her great trading town. The indebtedness of most of her merchants was there; she had be-come already tributary to that city, and it soon became the large back country, both in Virginia and farther South and West, opened to her sons a wide field for advancing their interests in agriculture, domestic commerce, law or medicine; and the mechanic arts were neither looked to as desirable or advantageous to Virginians at home, or in the States whence they would most likely emigrate.

In addition to this, the people of the Northern States di-

rectly after the revolution, commenced measures for the ab-olition of slavery within their limits, and passed such laws But I am cutting at our friends who voted for Jackson's as made it the interest of slave owners to carry their pro-

the African slave trade; and to the credit of the slave States, the African slave trade; and to the credit of the slave States, there was but a single vessel from Virginia, four from Maryland, and sixty-one from South Carolina, engaged in the business, while Rhode Island had fifty-nine. The law continued in force from 1504 to 1507, within which time 39,075 slaves were imported; of which 21 027 were brought in on British and French account. Rhode Island imported into South Carolina, 2002, while the whole of the South Carolina. and French account. Knowe Island imported into South Carolina 7,955, while the whole of the South Carolina mer-chants and planters imported only 2,005. The consignees, in these importations, consisted of 91 natives of England, 38 natives of Rhode Island, 10 of France, and 13 of South Carolina. James De Wolf, one of the largest Rhode Island operators, was afterwards elected to the United States Sonate from that State, and was one of the most bitter of the Abolition party, in the discussion of the Missouri Compromise in 1820-21. What number of slaves were brought into

the South, in violation of law, can only be imagined by the activity of those cogaged in the short space of four years.

During all this time, the tariff laws of Congress were silently but surely operating to "encourage and protect manufactures," stimulating the Northern people to perfect them-selves in every branch, and to shift and change the duties in serves in every branen, and to saint and enough the norties in such manner as to transfer the largest practicable portion of the products of the slave-labor of the South to the pockets the products of the slave-labor of the South to the pockets of the manufacturers and operatives of the North. This silent system, carried on under the plea of paying the debts of the Revolution, (and then of the late war,) and of making ourselves independent of foreign nations, in case of other wars, continued until 1824, when the nation was suddenly waked up with an agitation, founded upon the assumption that the Federal Government had the full newer without continued. that the Federal Government had the full power, without regard to paying the debts of the United States, to levy duties for the express purpose of protecting domestic manufactures The great battle was fought mainly between the North and the South, and carried against the latter. A high ta-

riff was arranged, and so constructed by discrimina-ting duties as to transfer the main surplus produc-tions of the South to the uses of the merchants and manufacturers of the North, through the operations of trade with foreign countries. The Northern States had now gain-ed the complete ascendency over those of the South, both in manufactures and commerce; and, as in all other cases of manufactures and commerce; and, as in all other cases of arbitrary power governed by avarice, those States have since dictated the terms upon which the people of the slave States shall enjoy their property, and the partion which shall be transferred to the North, to build up magnificent cities, great fortunes, and to maintain the existing ascendency over us.—
All the modifications of the tariff have been made with 10ference to the protection of domestic manufactures and the trade of the Northern States. The laws now in force, though not so much protective as others which precede them, yet if discriminating taxes were laid by all the Southern States, against the manufactures and imports of the North, equal to one-fifth part of that now paid for Northern benefit, Southern trade and manufactures would increase most rapidly .-Southern men are reproached and degraded by the allegation

then condemn them if it be just!

Many of our wise and good men, (without considering well the causes operating otherwise,) have advocated the protecting tariffs of Congress, with a hope of building up manufactures in the South. But so far from it, the same reason for a protecting tariff to protect the Northern States against European wealth, and experience exists on the part of the Southern States against the Northern. commenced manufacturing before the revolution, and had some experience when the first tariff laws of Congress passed. It was not so in the slave States. The act of 1790, a discriminating tariff law, was passed in that form expressly to encourage and protect manufactures, as is attested by the 22d, 1771. He says, "here in England it is well known and understood, that wherever a manufactory is established which employs a number of hands, it raises the value of lands in the neighboring country all around it; partly by the greater demand near at hand for the produce of the land, and partly from the plenty of money drawn by the manufac-

tures to that part of the country."

Congress was not mistaken in the means employed to ef fect the object designed—that of building up the manufac-tures of the North; nor was Dr. Franklin mistaken in the effect of manufacturing when fairly established in a country, We feel the full force of his remarks in our humbled and de-graded condition. The manufacturing establishments at the North have drawn around them the whole money power of the nation. They execute all government contracts worth having they command the circulating medium of the Union; the abundance of money necessarily drawn from every other portion of the country, concentrates the foreign commerce in the same sections; and consequently, the agricultural and consuming sections are as tributary to those commanding the manufactures and trade, as if they were dependent color-The Southern States are degraded by those of the North, in every essential element which constitutes national equality or national justice. They steal our slaves and refuse all indemnity for the injury. Most of them have laws upon their statute books directly in conflict with the solemn obligations of the constitution and laws of the United States, to restore our fugitive slaves, or those which have been stoten from us by their citizens. Many of their Governors, Senators and other high functionaries, who have solemnly aworn to support the Constitution of the United States, glory in that perjury, which is perpetrated by an open, while and avoice with the property of that instrument ngainst the public and avowed violation of that instrument against the rights of the Southern States and people. Churches and eligious societies have been rudely denounced as heretical, because their members in the South have been slaveholders. Other Churches have been compelled to separate, and the hand of avarice, fraud and oppression, which had been freely laid upon the South, through the operations of trade, could only be restrained by the strong arm of the law from a wholesale robbery of their Southern brethren of that which the latter had consecrated to the holy cause of religion. Indeed by the operations of discriminating and pro-tecting duties, and the advantages given to the Northern States by the public expenditures of the nation, commerce, consequently attracted thither, nearly the whole annual surplus production of the Southern States, is transferred to the North, and vested in banking institutions, rail roads, canals, princely fortunes, great cities, palaces, steam navigation, and a thousand other things dictated by

that pride and arrogance, which the humbleness of our condi-tion but too much stimulates.

No enterprise can be successful in the South which does not yield its richest fruits to Northern capital or talents.— Our banks live but at the mercy of Northern capital. Our our banks invested in the manufacturing establishments, and our importers and exporters, (what few there are,) live only in the neglect of Northern capitalists to notice them as competitors. Most of our merchants do business almost entirely on Northern of our merchants of obstaces amost earlier on volume credit; and, in truth, nearly the whole pecuniary operations of this State—internal improvements, and all—are dependent upon Northern funds. Yet the Legislature of no Southern State has condescended to investigate the causes of our dependence, or attempted to remedy the evil. We have paid millions from Virginia as tribute to the North, to build their internal converges, and "not upo gent" to build their manufactures and commerce, and "not one cent," to build up or protect our own! No, not one cent! Is there any man in Virginia who has enough of the spirit of his ancestors, enough of the love of home, or of true American en-terprise, to look upon his own State in tender affection, and offer to contribute one cent in any practicable mode for her

protection or relief? Is there one who can stand up and say to the world, "I am for Virginia and her interests?" SELF-RELIANCE. To the Editiors of the Enquirer. You are right in denying, in your paper of this morning You are right in denying, in your paper of this morning, that there is the least foundation for comparison, by the "Times" newspaper, between Mr. Hallett, Chairman of the Democratic Central Committee, and the "infamous William A. Seward." Such a resolution as Mr. Robert Rantoul asserts to have been introduced into a Democratic State Con-vention in Massachusetts, during the year 1849, may have been so introduced; and it may also have been reported by a I know: but I am confident that it must have been forced upon those who have recently so nobly triumphed in New they will have no communion. I happen to know that Mr. Hallett is as thoroughly hated by that faction as they are by the New England Democracy. Mr. Robert Rantoul, the Boston Atlas and the Richmond Whig, may all attempt to conceal from the view of Southern men their sympathy and assimilation with the one idea politicians at the North of the Seward and Garrison stamp-men who put up General Scott's name for the Presidency more than twelve months ago-by accusing Mr. Hallett of free-soil tendencies. But those who know that gentleman well, who know that he has uniformly advocated the rights of the South, maintained the compromises of the constitution and received the worst abuse from the New England Whigs and free-soilers thereor, for years past, will only laugh at these abortive at-

Will you tell me why the "Richmond Whig," did not , this morning, notice the fact, that one of the resolutions intro-duced by Mr. Scott, Wednesday night, at the Whig State Convention, provided for a committee to report resolutions defining the position of Virginia Whiggery, in relation to Compromise measures. The resolutions, I see, were duly noticed; but nothing was said about the Compromise. Why was this? Has the "Whig" so far gone over to the Seward interest, that it dislikes to use the word "Compromise?"— Perhaps the discussions in the Convention to-day, will

Perhaps the discussions in the force it to open its mouth to-morrow.

NEW ENGLANDER.

Richmond, April 15, 1852.

GEN. CASS'S NICHOLSON LETTER The Washington Union of Saturday week says : - A friend of Gen. Cass has handed us a letter of Col. Jefferson Davis was honorable to themselves, to the country, and to human of Mississippi, which was published in the Mississippian on nature. It was the most trying experiment perhaps ever the 19th of January, 1852, with a request that we should pub- made upon the capacity of man for self government, but lish it, as containing a refutation of the charge so frequently made, that General Cass did not deal fairly and candidly with the South in his celebrated Nicholson letter. It is due to Colonel Davis, as well as to General Cass, that we comply with this request, especially as the letter illustrates the characters of both of these eminent Democrats for candor and integrity.

In order that the nature of the imputation against General Cass may be clearly understood, we deem it proper to preif they had to establish a Government,
mise that, in speaking of the extent to which Congress might
must it have been! Some say territorial. legislate for the territories, Gen. Cass, in his Nicholson letter, made this remark : "It (the interference of Congress) should be limited to the

creation of proper governments for new countries acquired or settled, and to the necessary provisions for their eventual admission into the Union, leaving, in the mean time, to the people inhabiting them, to regulate their own concerns their

It will be remembered that the leading point in the Nicholson letter was, that Congress had no power under the Constitution to enact the Wilmot provi-o; and this conclusion resulted from the fact, as maintained by Gen. Cass, that the Constitution confers on Congress no power to legislate for the people of the Territories. Hence the deduction come already tributary to that city, and it soon became the expressed in in lovegoing extracting the fractionies the right to regulate large back country, both in Virginia and farther South and their own concerns in their own way. After this letter was published, it became a question in the South whether Gen. Cass meant to assert that the inhabitants of a Territory, prior to their admission into the Union as a State, could prohibit slavery, or whether he meant that this right could only be exercised when they changed their relation of Territories for that of States. The latter construction was most consonant with the feelings and views of Southern Democrats, and they generally adopted it; whilst the former But I am cutting at our Iriends who voted for Jackson's rich that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity, that has had the boldness to warn the Whig Convenity in the fire in the Capitoly sterday recording, and the perplet of the terming that there are no produced to serious damage. We understand that there accordingly adopt that the foreign slave owners to carry their produced to serious damage. We understand that there are not thus limited belongs to the people of the terming that the foreign slave owners to carry their produced to serious damage. We understand that there are no produced his produced his produced his produced his transcripts of the people of the terming the free in the Capitoly sesterday in the foreign slave owners to carry their produced to serious damage. We understand that there are no produced his produc suited the purposes of Southern Whigs the best, and they

South Carolina, after the revolution, opened her ports to the African slave trade; and to the credit of the slave States, there was but a single vessel from Virginia, four from Maryland, and sixty-one from South Carolina, engaged in the business, while Rhode Island had fifty-nine. The law continued in force from 1904 to 1807, within which time 39,075 slaves were imported; of which 21,027 were brought in on British. rritories had the right to prohibit slavery either before or at the time of their admission as States; and, by way of fully relieving himself from the imputation, he called on the Southern Senators then present to know if they had not understood his Nicholson letter as he himself then explained it. In response to this call, Mr. Butler of South Carolina, Mr Davis of Mississippi, and others, assented to the cor-rectness of his declaration, and thereby furnished the

trongest evidence of the want of foundation in the charge that he had deceived the South. During the exciting scenes through which the people of Mississippi have recently passed, this charge was revived in a pamphlet giving a sketch of the life of Col. Davis, and it was because of the injustice done to Gen. Cass in that was because of the injustice done to Gen. Cass in that pumphlet that Col. Davis left himself called upon to come forward and do an act of justice to Gen. Cass. Every hon-orable mind will appreciate this course, and every impartial lence and physical strength. mind will at once see that the charge against Gen. Cass is without foundation. We have no idea of reviving the ques-tion whether Gen. Cass's views as to the rights of the inhabitants of a Territory are correct or not. Our only object is to furnish the evidence that he has been guity of no deception upon the South, and on this point the following let-

ter of Col. Davis is conclusive. [The length of Col. Davis' letter precludes its insertion ere. The substance of it is, that he (Davis) at the time of the appearance of the Nicholson letter, placed the same ledged to be the correct one, and that he knew at the time that such was the construction intended by Gen. Cass. Col. Davis, therefore, thinks that Gen. Cass had no intention whatever of deceiving the people of the South.

The following remarks submitted some days since by Gen. Cass in the Senate of the United States, explain themselves,

and we publish them in justice to that gentleman ] IN SENATE, FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1852.

Mr. Cass claimed the indulgence of the Senate to make a personal explanation, which being granted, he proceeded a personal explanation, which being granted, he proceeded as follows:

Mr. President, a letter has just been published in the Union of this city, addressed by Col. Davis to the editors of the Mississippian, and copied from the latter paper, which, relating, as it does, to some of the positions I have taken in the Senate, as well as elsewhere, seems to me to require some remarks; especially as my true views, in one respect at least, are misunderstood. I have to thank Col. Davis for the water, he has done me, with that spirit of frankers.

the justice he has done me, with that spirit of frankness which becomes his character. And while he dissents from that they have neither enterprise nor industry to carry on manufactures or commerce. It is not true. It is a device against an odious charge, never, indeed, resting upon the of the enemy. Give the Southern people a fair chance, and slightest foundation of truth, that I designed to deceive the South as to my real opinions in my Nicholson letter. Some time since, when I first learned this accusation, I appealed to Southern Schators upon this floor, and said it was well known to many of them that the plain language of my let-ter corresponded with my views, and that my opinions were perfectly understood when the letter was first published. You will recollect, sir, that not one member contradicted this statement, and that several of them gave their assent to

it, and among these was Col. Davis.

I am not going into a review of the old controversy, connected with the general subject of the Wilmot proviso. I desire, principally, to put myself right in one particular, where Col. Davis has misunderstood me. It will be recolsignature of Washington. This act had the effect all over the Northern States, which Dr. Franklin attributed to the manufactures of England in his letter from London, April the war, and the principles I discussed had therefore relation to the usual form of territorial governments, as established by the authority of Congress. My object was to show that Congress had no constitutional power to insert the Wilmot proviso in the organic laws, because the right to establish such governments being founded upon necessity alone, eguld extend no further than that necessity required, which is satisfied when the Governments, are organized, leaving to the people all other rights in their administration. These organic laws, all of them, indeed, grant or recognize the right of legislation in the Territories, to be exercised in the node pointed out. It is a general power, embracing all the objects of human legislation, unless in particular cases, where restrictions are imposed. My opinion is that Congress can impose no restriction upon the power to regulate the relation of master and servant, including the condition of slavery, in the Territories, any more than they can upo the relations of husband and wife, or of parent and child Every Territorial Legislature which has existed, has exercised full power, incontrolled power, over the two latter domestic relations, by virtue of being the deposi-tories of legislative authority, and not because those objects, or indeed any others, were specially committed to their charge; thus assuming that it is a just object for such action, in consequence of the grant of general powers of le-gislation. And in the territories where there has been no Wilmot proviso, the power to regulate the condition of sla very has been freely exercised among the other objects of very has been freely exercised among the other conjects of legislation, without any express grant whatever; and in all of them it could be exercised in the same manner; either to establish or abolish slavery, unless controlled by superior Congressional action, in conformity with the constitution. I should like to have any man point to me a single reason why a Territorial Legislature, if left uncontrolled in this respect by Congress—and all who are opposed to the Wilmot proviso believe they should be thus left—can legislate upon one of the domestic relations, and not upon the others. I speak of the legal power, for that is the question at issue —

> life, and leave one of them without the sphere of legitimate control, and the other within it? The same general terms of power which include one include all; and yet we are called upon to deny that power in a particular case, and to leave it in unquestionable operation in all other cases. If, indeed, as I have heretofore said, and now repeat, the right to take slaves into the Territories is one, as has been contended, which is secured by the constitution, there is an and to the question. It would be a right which would override and overthrow both Congressional and Territorial legislation in opposition to it. I have never been able myself to see the force of that construction which gives this effect to any of the constitutional provisions, but I was always willing, and so expressed myself, that the ques-tion, being a claim of right, should be submitted to the Su-preme Court, and that its decision should be final. But it will be observed that Col. Davis, in his letter and I believe those who take similar views of this question, place their op-position to my doctrine, not upon—the establishment of such constitutional right to be found in the constitution itself out upon the probable practical result of the territorial pow er, that it would give a pecular direction, in the early periodof the governments, to the legislation of the country, and if not establish, at any rate exercise a powerful influence upon its permanent policy. No doubt, sir, it would be so; but it is one of those consequences that cannot well be avoided. There are wide differences of opinion in many portions of this country upon questions of internal policy, and little uniformity of system in their adjustment. Each settler,

Upon what principle can a line be drawn on the chart of le-

gislation, which would divide those great objects of social

during the period of settlement, naturally prefers that state of things to which he has been accustomed, and thus is it that an early character is given to those local institution which it is afterwards difficult to change. It is not along the condition of master and servant, which feels the effect of this impress, but it extends to all the objects of legisla-tion, which derive their color very much from the views of he first settlers. If a newly settled territory is first occupied by a majority of emigrants from a slave State, they wil be very apt to establish slavery in their new residence. from a non-slaveholding State, they will probably be equally strongly inclined to establish that exclusion to which they have been accustomed; and so with relation to all the objects of concern which are regulated by 11w. And where was there ever a community whose political and social system was not more or less influenced by the predominant opinions and character which marked its early inhabitants?
But this object, sir, whatever weight it is entitled to in scale of expediency, does not touch the question of That does not even depend on Congressi but upon the Constitution, which does not even look to this subject of early or of late legislation, nor the practical con-siderations to which it may give rise. The rightful power, therefore, is not affected by the mode in which it may be ex ercised, whether bearing upon one or another of the vast va-ricty of objects of civilized life which fall within the scope of legislation. All, therefore, I claim for the Territorial Governments, was the right of legislation in all cases not in conflict with the Constitution; the same general rights of le gislation which enabled the Territorial Governments of Mississippi, of Alabama, and other Southern Territories, to control the question of slavery within their limits, and which the Northern Territories might have controled at their plea-sure, had there been no restriction upon their power. This was no question of sovereignty, but of right, under the sovereign authority of the Constitution. And if the first set-

tlers in the Territories might establish their future policy

upon this subject, by early legislation, I know of no consti

tutional principle which could refuse the same powers to all A few words more, sir, as to California, and what has been called "squatter sovereignty." I have already said that my Nicholson letter referred only to such Territorial Governments as had been established by Congress, and it related only to such Governments to be chereafter established by the same authority, over future acquisitions, should such be confirmed to us by a treaty of peace. As to the condition of things in California which followed, "in consequence of the failure of Congress to provide governments for the Mexican cessions, no one foresaw it; certainly no one endeavor ed to provide against it. My letter therefore, did not touch that point at all. But the difficulty came, and a large body of American citizens upon the shores of the Pacific, found themselves without government, and exposed to all the fearful evils which such a state necessarily brings with it. Life, property, all the objects, indeed, of the social system, were at hazard, without some prompt and efficient action. That action we refused to take, and the people had no other re-liance but upon their own wisdom and energy. The result they passed through the fiery turnace unscathed, untouched, indeed by the devouring element. They established a government, and I am not going to argue with any man who denies their right to have done so. I assume it as a selfdenies their right to have done so. I assume it as a self exident proposition in this middle of the nineteenth century. It was not, as it has been called, an act of revolution, for how can there be a revolution when there has been no pre-existing Government? It was an act of political organization, essential to the very existence of society. Well, sir if they had to establish a Government, what kind of one

But, sir, that was impossible; for that kind of government ore-supposes certain relations with the United States which Congress alone can define and regulate. It was impossible or a self-constituted Government to put itself in that postfor a self-constituted Government to put used tion, with its laws and officers controlled by Federal author, without the action of that authority. Nothing else thoraty, without the action of that authority. Nothing else was left to the people, but to do as they did, to lay the foundation of their own government, and then to come to Congress with their work. Conceding, then, that they had the right to provide for their indispensable political wants by this course, what limitation was there upon the exercise of their powers in framing the Government? Why, sir, if they could do any thing, they could do every thing not in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. And this brings me back to the origgislate for the people of the Territories. Hence the dead gislate for the people of the Territories. Hence the dead gislate for the people of the Territories. Hence the dead gislate for the people of the Territories. Hence the dead gislate for the people of the Territories. United States. And this brings me back to the original question, whether the Constitution does expressly or by necessary implication prohibit the exercise of this contested to the original question, whether it grants any rights which render its action incompatible with their superior obligation. I have already said, I can find for myself no such provision in that instrument. It will be recollected that the whole busis of my argument, whether right or wrong, was founded on the indefeasible right of every distinct political community to regulate its own government, when not rightfully controlled by some superior authority. The only superior authority which, in this country, could limit this right, must be derived from the Constitution of the United States, and therefore every polit-

to the middle ages, when land was everything and mannothing. We have arrived at a period when better views prevail—when human nature asserts its rights, and the exercise of political power does not depend upon the accident of property, but upon the great principles of freedom and just equality. One of two things is inevitable; either the people of California had the right to establish a government for themselves without reference to "squatter sovereignty or landlord sovereignty," or they were necessarily condemned to live sovereignty," or they were necessarily condemned to live without a government, or rather to die without one, for human life under such circumstances would be far more precarious than in the bloodiest battle on record. They chose to do what we refused—to found a political system, affording to do what we refused—to found a political system, affording protection to the great objects of human society; and I know nothing of the character of my countrymen, North or South, if, on calm reflection, they do not approve the proceeding. Nor do I believe there is one of them, no matter where, who, had he seen California in such a perilous crisis, would have hesitated to substitute established law for lawless via

I observe, what had not struck me before, that in an ex-I observe, what had not struck me before, that in an ex-tract from his speech, which, Col. Davis refers to, he says that I spoke of the fanaticism of the South. Sir, that is a deduction from my remarks, and one which I think their tener does not justify. I used no such term. I made no such charge. I did, indeed, complain of a too prevalent in-disposition among our Southern brethren to make a just disposition among our Southern brethren to make a just allowance for the position and natural opinions of Nortaern men. It was not enough that they should recognize and defend the constitutional rights of the South, as zealously and honestly, and I may add, under circumstances of a good construction upon it that Gen. Cass has since acknow- deal of personal difficulty, as those of their own section o country; but they were almost denonuced as abolitionists, as Northern fanatics, I said, in some quarters, unless they arowed and believed that slavery was the best condition of haman society. This is the substance of my remarks upon that topic; and I know that this sentiment of regret was participated in by some of the most steadfast friends of the South upon this floor; and certainly those remarks were made not in a spirit of hostility, but with feelings or pain that so little confidence was placed in exertions right. ully and honestly made.

LEGISLATURE OF VIRGINIA.

THURSDAT, APRIL 15, 1552.

SENATE.

A communication was received from the House of Delegates informing the Senate of the passage of various bills, which have been enumerated in the proceedings of that bade The Senate concurred in the amendment of the House of Delegates to the bill providing for the election of Judges

Mr. Thompson, from the select committee, reported a bill providing for laying off two Commissioners' district in the county of Dinwiddie.

On Mr. Daster's motion, the bill in relation to the election

of certain officers of the city of Petersburg was taken up, and sundry amendments thereto adopted. Mr. SHACKELFORD did not wish to oppose the bill, but the Mr. Shackeeford aid not wish to oppose the did, but the bill provided not only for the election of town officers but also for State officers, and fixed the day for the election of those officers different from that fixed for the election of State officers in other pertions of the State.

Mr. Daniel could see no good reason why that should be

an objection to the bill, as it was only applicable to Petersburg; it was very desirable that these elections should come on at the earliest day, and it was necessary that some of these municipal elections should take place by the first day There being farther objections expressed to that portion of the bill by Messis. Deneate and Watson, on Mr. De-neate's motion, the bill was laid on the table for the pres-

On Mr. Thompson's motion, the bill providing for two districts in the county of Dinwiddie, was taken up out of its order on the calendar, and read the first On Mr. Monceag's motion, the bill in relation to the elec-

ion of certain officers by a joint vote of the two Houses, Mr. Moncure moved to lay the bill on the table, and make it the order of the day for Monday next. The Senate refused to make it the order of that day.

On Mr. Deneate's motion, the bill was laid on the table.

The bill in relation to the election of officers of Petersburg ras again, taken up, on Mr. DASIEC's motion Mr. Daniel insisted on the passage of the bill in its pro Mr. Dengate intimated an amendment reducing the pay

of the Commonwealth's Attorney.
The bill was farther discussed by Messrs. Ambler, Daniel nd DENEALE. Mr. STUART said he wished to examine the bill, and hoped it would be laid on the table. The bill was then laid on the Mr. Stuart moved that the Senate adjourn, as it was im

ssible to proceed with any important business. Mr. SHACKELFORD asked Mr. STUAKT to withdraw his motion. He hoped the Senate would not adjourn, as there was business the Senate could proceed with, such as reading of

Mr. STUART renewed his motion, and the Senate adjourn HOUSE OF DELEGATES. No quorum appearing, the House, on motion of Mr. WELL-

MAN, adjourned. THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS--178 SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1852. SENATE. Mr. Seward presented a petition of E. G. Atwater of New York, representing that when the President of the United States and his Cabinet were travelling through the State of

New York, during the last summer, he was engaged to a salute, and by the premature discharge of a gun ho lost both of his arms. He prays a pension.

Mr. Davis presented the memorial of B. F. Hallett and other members of the Bar of Boston, praying that the sal-ary of the United States District Judge of Massachusetts e increased. On motion of Mr. Chase, the Senate took up the bill grant-ing to the State of Ohio the unsold and unappropriated pub-

lie land (amounting to about 216,000 acres) remaining in that State. And after explanation of the bill by Mr. Chase, and some remarks in opposition thereto by Messrs. Dawson and Hunter, the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third rea-The French Spoliation bill was then considered, and Mr Felch resumed and concluded his remarks in opposition to

A motion for an executive session was made and resec ted. And then, on motion of Mr. Mangum, who intends to make a personal explanation to-morrow, the Senate adourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. The first business in order was the resolutions submitted yesterday by Mr. Brown of Mississippi, and Mr. Florence of

Mr. Florence withdrew the resolution for the purpose of substituting a bill, one of the sections of which em-

Mr. Brown concluded his speech of yesterday, and con-ended that the committee contemplated throughout their proceedings the employment of Messrs. Donelson and Armstrong, for which purpose a coalition of the extremes of par-ies had been formed in their favor, combined with the Ke public. If the public printing, he said, was to be divided, there should have been more justice in the division; and if any paper had the preference it should have been the Inteligencer. He concluded by stating that if the States rights party was to be proscribed—Georgia, Mississipni and Ala-bama alone, numbering 100,000 men through the paper in ts interest, it could proscribe in return. He then submitted the following resolution: --Resolved, That the report of the committee on public

rinting be referred to the judiciary committee, with instruc-ions to report on the whole subject, and with reference to such system for executing the public printing as shall appear to be most expedient, and to take into consideration the esablishment of a bureau, under the supervision of a proper Mr. Florence moved to amend the resolution by adding a

bill for establishing a bureau for the execution of the public printing, with a superintendent having a salary of \$3,000, whose term of office should be four years; and went on to trace the attacks that, he said, had been made on the public orinter, and thereby preventing his execution of his contract. He went on to show that the contract system did not realize the advantages which were contemplated; and deduced from the complaints that had been made, as to the manner In which the printing had been performed, arguments in favor of the establishment of a printing bureau. Mr. Orr of South Carolina, enumerated the various ten-

ders that were made when the present contract was entered into-that of Mr. Rives being in the aggregate \$196,000, with eight others that were lower, and inquired why neither of these were selected as that on which to base the contract that had been offered to Donelson & Armstrong and Gideon & Co. particularly, when the former required an advance of sixty-nine per cent. when 29,000 copies were struck off, while Mr. Rives agreed to make a reduction to that extent -As to the Southern Press, to which aliusion had been made, that or any other newspaper could not support itself, it should not derive such support from the aid of government

Mr. Florence having concluded was followed by Mr. Fork of Tenn, who went into a political disquisition, and made an allusion to Mr. Rantoul of Mass., which called up that gentleman. The discussion that ensued, at the instance of several members, was declared to be out of order by the Speaker, when Mr. Polk concluded by moving that the r ution and amendment be laid on the table, and called for

the previous question. The yeas and mays being ordered, Mr. Marshall of Ken-tucky, moved that the House resolve itself into a committee of the whole on the state of the Union; upon which tellers having been appointed, the motion was agreed to-ayes 90

The House then went into committee and again took up the Homestead bill.

Mr. Jenkins of New York, recapitulated the number of miles of land which it is proposed to give to the Western States in aid of rail roads and for other purposes, amounting

altogether to eighty-one millions. Such lands as are giver to rail roads, he said, are vested in corporate bodies and cease to have a national character, and, therefore, should be dealt with in a cautious manner.

He contended that the public lands are vested in the Gen-

eral Government, for the benefit of the whole country, the funds arising from which are paid into the public treasury, and ought with equal propriety be paid to individuals, as to be given in the shape of free grants of land. He considered e present mode of selling lands as working well, and as inducing persons to lay up the means of purchasing forty or eighty acre lots, while the plan of giving them away had never answered wherever it had been tried. After he had concluded, the House adjourned.

MOVEMENTS OF KOSSUTH-A MEETING OF TEX-

AN CREDITORS, &c. WASHINGTON, April 11.—Konsuth remains here in a state of almost perfect quiescence. No excitement attended his reception, and there will be none at his departure. A large number of members of Congress and others have, however, called upon him at his room. It is understood that he desites to see Mr Clay again before he leaves, and made an at-tempt to effect it to day, but was disappointed. He will probably he more fortunate to-morrow.

The Texan creditors met to-day, but adjourned without coming to any decision. They will probably accept whatever Texas chooses to give them.

The Government is prosecuting forgers of Treasury vouclers with great diligence. William S. Brown of Michigan, is on trial to-day in the Criminal Court. Hon, A. W. Buel & his counsel. The laborers on the Capitol extension resume work to-mor

FIRE IN THE OFFICE OF THE SUPREME COURT